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Interviews: 1003 adults  
Dates: November 8-10, 2003

Male 48  
Female 52  
[5]

## FINAL

Study #6038  
NBC News/Wall Street Journal  
November 2003

**Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.**

***The margin of error for 1003 interviews is ±3.1%***

***Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.***

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? (6037-1)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<b>[6]</b>
								<u>9/01</u>	<u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	43	38	42	49	62	36	43	72	14	
Wrong track.....	47	50	44	38	22	47	42	11	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	6	8	9	8	13	14	13	11	9	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	5	3	3	2	6	6	
	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>				
	44	42	40	52	53	62				
	42	43	42	31	28	20				
	14	12	14	14	15	14				
	-	3	4	3	4	4				
	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>				
	70	72	43	47	52	45				
	15	11	39	39	32	36				
	12	11	14	11	11	15				
	3	6	4	3	5	4				

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president? (6037-2a)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/29-30/03</u>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	
Approve.....	51	49	56	62	71	66	88	50	[7]
Disapprove.....	44	45	38	31	23	29	7	35	
Not sure.....	5	6	6	7	6	5	5	15	
	<u>3/23/03</u>	<u>3/17/03</u>	<u>2/03<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>		
	67	62	61	54	62	63	64		
	28	33	31	40	33	31	30		
	5	5	8	6	5	6	6		
	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u>		
	67	69	75	74	82	85	88		
	27	23	18	20	13	11	7		
	6	8	7	6	5	4	5		

<sup>1</sup> Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy? (6037-2c)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Approve.....	50	43	45	48	49	44	47	48	48	[8]
Disapprove.....	44	52	48	44	42	49	45	44	43	
Not sure.....	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	8	9	
	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>		
	49	57	61	63	63	50	51	52		
	43	34	30	27	25	38	33	27		
	8	9	9	10	12	12	16	21		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy? (6036-2d)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Approve.....	48	47	55	63	70	51	57	58	55	[9]
Disapprove.....	48	46	39	31	24	42	36	35	34	
Not sure.....	4	7	6	6	6	7	7	7	11	
	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>		
	62	64	68	81	82	50	63	53		
	28	28	26	13	12	32	26	20		
	10	8	6	6	6	18	11	27		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2d. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing? (6037-2e)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Approve.....	56	60	66	64	66	<b>[10]</b>
Disapprove.....	39	34	28	28	27	
Not sure.....	5	6	6	8	7	
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	
	67	73	75	75	76	
	26	22	20	18	19	
	7	5	5	7	5	

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing? (6037-3)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<i>High 9/98</i>	<i>Low 10/90+</i>	
Approve.....	43	39	42	44	42	44	44	40	61	22	<b>[11]</b>
Disapprove.....	45	45	45	41	39	39	40	44	28	69	
Not sure.....	11	16	13	15	19	17	16	16	11	9	
	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>		
	34	43	54	57	47	43	45	48	45	55	
	48	41	29	29	34	33	32	35	35	30	
	18	16	17	14	19	24	23	17	17	15	
	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>3/00+</u>	<u>1/00</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>		
	49	46	46	43	42	43	48	45	42		
	35	41	42	46	44	40	36	42	45		
	16	13	12	11	14	17	16	13	13		
	<u>9/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>			
	40	43	40	49	41	50	44	48			
	49	41	42	38	45	40	42	39			
	11	16	18	13	14	10	14	13			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
<b>George W. Bush</b>							
November 2003.....	34	19	11	13	24	-	[12]
September 2003.....	35	17	9	15	23	1	
July 2003.....	38	21	9	14	17	-	
May 2003.....	41	22	9	10	17	1	
January 2003.....	36	20	12	16	16	-	
December 2002.....	38	24	14	12	12	-	
October 2002+.....	37	24	11	12	15	1	
September 2002.....	38	25	14	11	12	-	
July 2002.....	40	26	11	11	12	-	
June 2002.....	43	27	11	10	9	-	
April 2002.....	47	25	13	8	7	-	
January 2002.....	53	26	10	7	4	-	
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001.....	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001.....	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
<i>Low</i>							
March 2000+.....	19	26	21	15	17	2	
<b>Howard Dean</b>							
November 2003.....	3	15	21	11	10	39	[13]
September 2003.....	3	15	21	10	10	42	
July 2003.....	5	10	16	5	9	55	
<b>Wesley Clark</b>							
November 2003.....	4	15	21	11	8	40	[14]
September 2003.....	7	11	22	6	6	48	
<b>Arnold Schwarzenegger</b>							
November 2003.....	14	23	32	14	10	7	[15]
<b>Donald Rumsfeld</b>							
November 2003.....	18	25	15	11	19	12	[16]
September 2003.....	21	26	15	11	14	13	
July 2003.....	21	25	15	13	15	12	
May 2003.....	25	24	14	9	12	15	
June 2002.....	23	24	19	8	6	20	
December 2001.....	30	26	16	4	3	21	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

5a. If President Bush runs for re-election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for President Bush or probably vote for the Democratic candidate? (6037-5a)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	
Probably vote for President Bush.....	43	42	45	47	52	41	42	45	[17]
Probably vote for Democratic candidate.....	40	40	36	32	24	34	28	31	
Vote for another party's candidate (VOL).....	2	2	3	2	4	3	4	3	
Depends on who opponent is (VOL).....	8	9	10	12	14	16	20	17	
Not sure.....	8	7	7	7	6	6	6	4	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5b. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Wesley Clark were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6037-5d)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	
George W. Bush.....	49	45	[18]
Wesley Clark.....	37	38	
Depends (VOL).....	2	2	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	5	
Not sure.....	7	11	

5c. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Richard Gephardt were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6035-5b)

	<u>11/03*</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
George W. Bush.....	52	55	51	67	[19]
Richard Gephardt.....	36	29	32	21	
Depends (VOL).....	1	3	3	NA	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	5	6	3	
Not sure.....	6	7	8	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

5d. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Howard Dean were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6036-5b)

	<u>11/03**</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
George W. Bush.....	50	48	52	[20]
Howard Dean.....	35	35	30	
Depends (VOL).....	2	3	3	
Neither/other (VOL).....	6	7	7	
Not sure.....	8	8	8	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

6a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN." IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat.....	18	[21]
Not very strong Democrat.....	9	Skip to Q.7
Independent/lean Democrat.....	11	
Strictly independent.....	17	
Independent/lean Republican.....	12	
Not very strong Republican.....	8	CONTINUE
Strong Republican.....	17	
Other.....	5	
Not sure/nothing.....	3	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a.)**

6b. If there were a presidential primary election in your state, would you vote in the Democratic primary, the Republican primary, or would you wait to vote in the general election? (6037-6b)

	<u>11/03</u>		<u>9/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	[22]
Vote in the Democratic primary.....	7	CONTINUE	10	9	6	8	6	8	
Vote in the Republican primary.....	39		37	39	41	43	43	43	
Wait until the general election.....	48	Skip to Q.8	44	46	44	46	43	42	
Neither/other (VOL).....	3		4	2	3	1	4	3	
Not sure.....	3		4	4	6	2	4	4	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a OR THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN Q.6b.)**

7. Let me mention some people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in 2004. If the next Democratic primary for president were being held today, for which one of the following candidates would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (6037-7)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	[23]
Wesley Clark.....	17	16	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Howard Dean.....	15	17	12	3	3	3	1	
Richard Gephardt.....	12	8	11	16	14	17	14	
John Kerry.....	11	11	14	17	13	14	16	
Joe Lieberman.....	11	16	25	21	19	25	20	
John Edwards.....	5	4	4	5	4	7	3	
Al Sharpton.....	4	3	3	2	2	2	4	
Dennis Kucinich.....	3	2	2	1	NA	NA	NA	
Carol Moseley Braun.....	3	1	5	4	4	NA	NA	
None (VOL) <sup>1</sup> .....	6	4	7	6	14	5		
Other (VOL).....	1	1	-	1	1	1	6	
Not sure.....	12	14	14	21	23	20	22	

<sup>1</sup> In December 2002, "None (VOL)" and "Other (VOL)" were one item.

8. If the Congressional representative from your district voted AGAINST President Bush's resolution last year authorizing war against Iraq, would it make you much more likely to support that person, somewhat more likely to support that person, somewhat less likely to support that person, much less likely to support that person, or would it not make any difference to you either way? (6028-14a)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>10/02</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Much more likely to support.....	20	16	<b>[24]</b>
Somewhat more likely to support.....	12	13	
Somewhat less likely to support.....	17	17	
Much less likely to support.....	20	25	
Would not make any difference either way.....	30	26	
Not sure.....	3	3	

<sup>1</sup>In October 2002, question was phrased, "If the Congressional representative from your district voted AGAINST President Bush's Iraq resolution . . . ."

9. In voting for president, which will count more to you personally – a candidate's leadership style, credentials, background, and policies for being commander-in-chief of the United States, or a candidate's leadership style, credentials, background, and policies for directing the United States' economy?

Leadership style, credentials, and policies for being commander-in-chief.....	35	<b>[25]</b>
Leadership style, credentials, and policies for directing economy.....	50	
Both equally (VOL).....	9	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	5	

10. In voting for president, whom would you prefer--someone who has experience in and is knowledgeable about Washington, or someone who is not part of the Washington establishment? (6002-22b)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>12/91</u>	
Someone who has experience in and is knowledgeable about Washington.....	49	49	54	<b>[26]</b>
Someone who is not part of the Washington establishment.....	37	35	32	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	7	3	
Neither (VOL).....	5	2	3	
Not sure.....	5	7	8	

11. How would you rate George W. Bush on the following qualities, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? **(IF "NOT SURE," RECORD "DK.")**

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE NUMBER WHO SAY "VERY GOOD"*

	Very Good Rating			Very Poor Rating		Cannot Rate	
	5	4	3	2	1		
<b>Having high personal standards that set the proper moral tone for the country</b>							
November 2003.....	41	16	18	8	15	1	<b>[35]</b>
July 2002.....	43	23	19	7	8	-	
January 2001.....	33	25	22	11	8	1	
December 1999.....	22	28	28	8	9	5	
<b>Having the strong leadership qualities needed to be president</b>							
November 2003.....	36	18	17	10	19	1	<b>[31]</b>
July 2003.....	42	17	16	8	16	-	
May 2003.....	47	17	15	8	13	1	
January 2003.....	34	22	21	11	12	-	
July 2002.....	38	24	19	9	10	-	
January 2002.....	49	24	17	5	5	-	
April 2001.....	28	22	22	13	15	-	
January 2001.....	26	24	25	13	11	1	
December 1999.....	26	27	24	10	9	4	
<b>Serving as commander-in-chief</b>							
November 2003.....	35	17	18	9	20	1	<b>[33]</b>
<b>Being honest and straightforward</b>							
November 2003.....	34	18	17	9	22	1	<b>[28]</b>
July 2003.....	35	16	18	8	22	1	
May 2003.....	41	18	21	7	13	1	
January 2003.....	39	21	16	10	13	1	
July 2002.....	35	23	19	10	12	1	
April 2001.....	37	18	20	11	13	1	
January 2001.....	28	22	25	11	13	1	
<b>Being compassionate enough to understand average people</b>							
November 2003.....	29	17	19	9	25	-	<b>[29]</b>
May 2003.....	34	17	19	9	20	1	
January 2003.....	27	22	19	12	19	1	
July 2002.....	33	23	21	10	12	1	
January 2002.....	44	21	20	6	8	1	
April 2001.....	26	20	21	15	17	1	
January 2001.....	21	21	27	14	16	1	
December 1999.....	22	24	28	10	12	4	
<b>Having a vision for the country's future</b>							
November 2003.....	27	18	20	11	22	1	<b>[34]</b>

Q.11 (cont'd)	Very Good Rating			Very Poor Rating		Cannot Rate	
	5	4	3	2	1		
<b>Having the right economic policies for the times</b>							
November 2003.....	19	19	22	12	27	1	[30]
July 2003.....	13	21	25	12	27	2	
May 2003.....	18	21	25	11	23	2	
January 2003.....	13	20	29	16	21	1	
July 2002.....	14	25	34	13	12	2	
<b>Having the right policies on domestic issues for the times</b>							
November 2003.....	18	21	25	13	23	1	[32]
May 2003.....	22	20	25	11	21	1	
January 2003.....	13	23	32	14	17	1	

12a. Which of the following issues worries you the most when you consider the years to come? (IF "ALL," ASK:) But if you absolutely had to choose, which ONE issue would you say worries you the most?

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE NUMBER WHO SAY THE ITEM IS FIRST- OR SECOND-GREATEST WORRY*

	Q.12a Top Priority		Q.12a/b COMBINED Top/Second Priorities
Increasing health care costs.....	18		34
A loss of American manufacturing jobs.....	15		29
New terrorist incidents on U.S. soil.....	16		25
Inadequate primary and secondary schools.....	9	CONTINUE	[36] 24
A rise in the federal budget deficit.....	9		19
The government restricting individual liberties..	9		17
The cost of rebuilding and stabilizing Iraq.....	6		13
All equally important (VOL).....	15	Skip to Q.13	[38] 16
Other (VOL).....	1	CONTINUE	2
None.....	1	Skip to Q.13	2
Not sure.....	2		3

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO DID NOT SAY "ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT," "NONE," OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.12a.)

12b. And which of these issues would come next? (READ LIST FROM Q.12a AND OMIT PREVIOUS RESPONSE. IF "ALL," ASK:) But if you absolutely had to choose, which ONE issue would you say comes next?

**Now I'd like to turn to foreign policy. ...**

13. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? (6037-14)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/17/03<sup>1</sup></u>	
Should have taken military action.....	63	64	69	71	76	65	[39]
Should not have taken military action.....	34	33	27	24	17	30	
Not sure.....	3	4	5	5	7	5	
	<u>2/03<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>4/02<sup>3</sup></u>	
	60	56	59	60	58	57	
	27	36	30	31	30	28	
	13	8	11	9	12	8	

<sup>1</sup>On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."

<sup>2</sup> Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

<sup>3</sup>In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

14. Since the United States has taken military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think the threat of terrorism in the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same? (6035-24)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>3/17/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Increased.....	28	28	32	52	55	55	[40]
Decreased.....	21	19	14	16	10	9	
Stayed about the same.....	50	51	52	29	32	35	
Not sure.....	1	2	2	3	3	1	

<sup>1</sup>Prior to April 2003, this question was phrased, "If the United States took military action against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power, do you think that the threat of terrorism in the United States would increase, decrease, or stay about the same?"

15. When it comes to the strength of Iraqi armed opposition, do you think that the Bush administration did or did not underestimate the situation? (6037-17)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Did underestimate the situation.....	60	53	44	[41]
Did not underestimate the situation.....	37	42	53	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	

16. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

Worth it.....	45	<b>[42]</b>
Not worth it.....	46	
Depends.....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

17. Do you think that Iraq did or did not have weapons of mass destruction before the war in March? (6036-16)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Did have weapons of mass destruction.....	63	70	<b>[43]</b>
Did not have weapons of mass destruction....	30	21	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	7	9	

18. Do you think that the United States will or will not find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq? (6037-19)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	
Will find weapons of mass destruction.....	36	37	46	60	<b>[44]</b>
Will not find weapons of mass destruction.....	56	50	41	32	
Depends/Not sure.....	9	13	13	9	

19. Based on the events over the last couple of months in Iraq, do you think that the United States is closer to its objective of creating a new, stable Iraqi government, or further from its objective of creating a new, stable Iraqi government?

Closer to objective.....	49	<b>[45]</b>
Further from objective.....	44	
Not sure.....	7	

20. If the United States never finds weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, do you think the war with Iraq will have been worthwhile, or do you think the war with Iraq will not have been worthwhile?

War with Iraq will have been worthwhile.....	57	<b>[46]</b>
War with Iraq will not have been worthwhile.....	37	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	6	

21. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view? (6037-23)

**Statement A:** American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

**Statement B:** American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time.

**Statement C:** American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
<b>Statement A/As soon as possible.....</b>	20	21	17	<b>[47]</b>
<b>Statement B/According to specified timetable, but within 18 months.....</b>	28	26	23	
<b>Statement C/As long as necessary, even if five years.....</b>	51	50	58	
Not sure.....	2	2	3	

22. Which idea worries you more – that the United States will pull out of Iraq too soon, or that the United States will stay in Iraq too long?

The United States will pull out of Iraq too soon....	42	<b>[48]</b>
The United States will stay too long.....	51	
Depends.....	3	
Not sure (VOL).....	3	

**Turning to the economy . . .**

23. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? (6037-27)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>3/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<b>[49]</b>
Economy has gotten better.....	38	27	23	18	6	7	17	6	2	
Economy has gotten worse.....	29	41	42	44	65	57	44	73	78	
Economy has stayed about the same.	31	30	34	36	28	35	38	20	19	
Not sure.....	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>		
	3	6	8	9	11	8	3	3		
	74	67	57	64	54	64	73	72		
	22	26	33	26	35	27	23	24		
	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	1		
	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
	6	11	11	12	12	12	15	18		
	57	37	36	30	30	29	34	23		
	35	51	52	56	56	57	49	57		
	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2		

<sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

24. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same? (6037-28)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Economy will get better.....	49	44	45	49	35	40	41	39	[50]
Economy will get worse.....	15	19	16	16	25	20	20	18	
Economy will stay about the same.....	33	33	34	32	37	35	34	39	
Not sure.....	3	4	4	3	3	5	5	4	
	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>		
	41	50	50	36	28	17	19		
	20	13	15	25	29	24	22		
	37	32	32	34	37	54	53		
	2	5	3	5	6	5	6		
	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>		
	19	21	20	24	31	31	28		
	22	21	21	23	17	24	24		
	57	52	54	50	46	40	44		
	2	6	5	3	6	5	4		
	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>		
	28	27	29	44	43	21	23		
	17	21	16	16	19	27	24		
	52	49	52	36	34	50	51		
	3	3	3	4	4	2	2		
	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	
	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

<sup>1</sup>Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

25. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one, which would it be? (6037-29)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>6/94</u>	
Inflation.....	5	4	5	6	10	8	8	6	[51]
Unemployment.....	41	48	41	25	13	11	10	35	
Energy prices.....	6	7	7	6	38	35	26	NA	
Interest rates.....	2	1	2	3	5	5	6	5	
The federal budget <sup>1</sup> .....	16	13	14	11	9	9	18	NA	
Federal taxes.....	9	6	7	8	11	14	11	11	
The stock market <sup>2</sup> .....	5	5	8	28	NA	NA	NA	NA	
All equally important (VOL).....	13	14	15	11	7	10	12	4	
None (VOL).....	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	
Not sure.....	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	
	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>		
	8	6	5	6	5	8	8		
	35	33	37	40	43	40	37		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	4	2	2	2	3	2	2		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	12	10	8	11	12	11	10		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	6	5	5	7	4	4	4		
	-	-	1	-	-	-	1		
	2	2	2	2	1	1	1		
	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>		
	6	4	7	7	6	7	11		
	40	44	44	44	46	46	37		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	2	2	2	2	3	2	3		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	11	9	7	5	5	5	7		
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA		
	4	5	3	5	5	8	10		
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	1	1	1	1	1	2	3		

<sup>1</sup> Prior to March 2001, the item was phrased, "Keeping the federal budget balanced."

<sup>2</sup> Prior to July 2002, the item was phrased, "The decline in the stock market"

26. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks." (6037-30)

	<u>11/03</u>	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
Applies.....	52		47	50	54	52	55	55	53	[52]
Does not apply.....	44	<b>Skip to Q.28</b>	49	46	44	46	43	43	44	
Not sure.....	4		4	3	2	2	2	2	3	
			<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>		
			49	49	49	52	49	51		
			47	49	49	46	49	45		
			4	2	2	2	2	4		

+Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST \$5,000 INVESTED IN Q26.)**

27. At this time, are you confident or not that confident about investing in the stock market? (6037-31)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
Confident.....	53	49	42	39	36	31	32	31	[53]
Not that confident.....	44	47	54	57	60	67	64	65	
Not sure.....	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	

+Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

28. How effective do you think the Bush administration's economic plan has been in helping strengthen the economy during the past two-and-a-half years – very effective, somewhat effective, only a little effective, or ineffective? (6037-33)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Very effective.....	11	8	6	[54]
Somewhat effective.....	36	32	32	
Only a little effective.....	23	24	28	
Ineffective.....	27	33	31	
Had mixed effects (VOL).....	1	1	1	
Not sure.....	2	2	2	

29. As you may know, some people have proposed canceling some or all of the tax cuts President Bush and Congress have approved during the past few years. Which statement comes closer to your view: Canceling at least some of the recent tax cuts makes sense in order to reduce the federal budget deficit and to provide more money for federal spending on items like health care, OR canceling some of the recent tax cuts is a bad idea because it would increase taxes and harm the economy? (6037-34)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	
Canceling tax cuts makes sense.....	48	44	[55]
Canceling tax cuts is a bad idea.....	43	45	
Depends/Some of both (VOL).....	3	4	
Not sure.....	6	7	

**I'd like to turn briefly now to health care and a couple of other subjects . . .**

30. I'd like to find out about your current health care insurance. Are you now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan, including Medicare or Medicaid? (4090-20a)

	<u>11/03</u>		<u>6/98</u>	
Yes, covered by health insurance or health plan.....	86	Skip to Q.32	89	[56]
No, not covered by health insurance or health plan.....	13	CONTINUE	11	
Not sure.....	1		-	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "NO" OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.30.)**

31. Have you had any form of health insurance or health plan in the past five years? (IF "YES," ASK: ) How long ago was it when you last were covered by a health insurance plan--less than a year ago, one year ago, two years, three years ago, four years ago, or about five years ago? (IF "NO," ASK: ) Why haven't you had any form of health insurance or health plan in the past five years -- because you can't afford it, because it's not worth it, because you don't care, or is there some other reason? (4090-20b)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>6/98</u>	
<b>Yes, Had Insurance.....</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>[57]</b>
Less than one year ago.....	17	22	
One year ago.....	7	12	
Two years ago.....	11	9	
Three years ago.....	6	7	
Four years ago.....	4	5	
Five years ago.....	7	10	
Not sure when.....	5	9	
<b>No, Have Not Had Insurance.....</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>25</b>	
Can't afford it.....	26	14	
It's not worth it.....	1	1	
Don't care about it.....	5	1	
Other reason.....	9	9	
<b>Not Sure.....</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	

32. As you may know, Congress is now debating a proposal to have Medicare pay for part of senior citizens' prescription drug costs, while also reducing Medicare's long-term financial problems. Those who favor the proposal say it has the advantage of providing immediate relief to many seniors who are having to deal with the increasingly high cost of prescription drugs. Those who oppose the proposal say that it has the disadvantage of substantially expanding Medicare spending while still leaving many seniors paying a large share of their prescription drug costs. Do you think that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages of this proposal, or do you think that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages? (6037-39)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	
Advantages outweigh the disadvantages.....	48	43	[58]
Disadvantages outweigh the advantages.....	33	37	
Depends/Congress should pass only part of the bill (VOL).	3	3	
Not sure.....	16	17	

33. Are you currently covered by Medicare? (IF "NO" OR "NOT SURE," CONTINUE TO QUESTION 34. IF "YES," ASK:) From what you have heard, would the prescription drug proposal being debated in Congress help you, hurt you, or not make much difference either way? (6037-40)

Yes, Covered By Medicare	[59]	
Proposal would help.....	28	34
Proposal would hurt.....	14	16
Proposal would not make much difference...	50	43
Not sure.....	9	7

34. Which type of Medicare program would you personally prefer – one in which patients choose their doctors individually, and Medicare reimburses the doctors at rates set by the government, OR one in which patients choose private insurance plans, and Medicare reimburses the insurance plans in return for the medical treatments those plans provide?

Patients choose doctors and Medicare reimburses doctors.....	62	[60]
Patients choose insurance plans and Medicare reimburses plans.....	28	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

35. Congress currently is debating whether to allow Americans to buy less expensive prescription drugs from pharmacies in other countries such as Canada and South Africa.

People who favor the proposal say it would help Americans reduce prescription drug expenses without any loss of safety or quality.

People who oppose the proposal say it would expose Americans to unsafe foreign prescription drugs while slowing progress toward new drugs by depriving pharmaceutical companies of money they need for research.

Whom do you agree with more – those who favor the proposal, or those who oppose it?

Favor the proposal to let Americans buy from foreign pharmacies.....	63	[61]
Oppose the proposal to let Americans buy from foreign pharmacies.....	31	
Depends.....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

36. Which of the following statements about America's future job situation comes closest to your view?

**Statement A:** If the economic recovery continues and strengthens, unemployment will go down to where it was before the recession, because businesses will create new jobs that replace those that were lost.

**Statement B:** Even if the economic recovery continues and strengthens, unemployment will not go down to where it was before the recession, because many jobs have been moved overseas and will not return.

<b>Statement A/unemployment will go down as</b> businesses create jobs.....	44	<b>[62]</b>
<b>Statement B/unemployment will NOT go down</b> because the jobs have been moved.....	48	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

37. Which of the following best represents your views about abortion--the choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor, abortion should be legal only in cases in which pregnancy results from rape or incest or when the life of the woman is at risk, or abortion should be illegal in all circumstances? (6030-41b)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>1/97</u>	<u>8/96</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	
Should be left up to the woman and her doctor.....	53	59	57	57	60	56	58	<b>[63]</b>
Legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the life of the woman is at risk.....	29	29	29	32	26	30	31	
Illegal in all circumstances.....	15	9	12	9	11	12	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	
	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>7/90</u>		
	55	56	60	60	57	57		
	35	31	28	31	36	33		
	7	10	10	8	7	8		
	3	3	2	1	-	2		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

38. As you may know, President Bush and the U.S. Congress recently approved a new law that prohibits a procedure commonly known as a "partial birth abortion." Do you favor or oppose this new law?

Favor this new law.....	47	<b>[64]</b>
Oppose this new law.....	40	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	13	

39. About ten years ago, Congress banned the sale and manufacture of assault weapons. In your view, should Congress keep or end this ban? (4060-21a)

	<u>11/03</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	
Keep the ban on assault weapons.....	78	78	76	<b>[65]</b>
End the ban on assault weapons.....	16	18	20	
Not sure.....	5	4	4	

40. For each of the following descriptions I read, please tell me whether that applies to you personally. **(READ ITEM)**--Does that apply to you or not? (6002-25d)

	<u>Applies</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
<b>Regularly use the Internet</b>				<b>[67]</b>
November 2003.....	71	29	-	
December 1999 <sup>1</sup> .....	53	47	-	
<b>Have contributed money to a political candidate</b>				<b>[68]</b>
November 2003.....	29	70	-	
<b>Have used the Internet to learn about political candidates and follow campaigns</b>				<b>[69]</b>
November 2003.....	37	62	-	
December 1999.....	22	78	-	

<sup>1</sup>In December 1999, item was phrased, "Regularly use the Internet or other on-line computer services."

**FACTUALS: Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	85	<b>[70]</b>
No, not registered.....	14	
Not sure.....	-	

F2. Are you currently employed?

**(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do?

**(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<b>Currently Employed</b>			
Professional/ manager.....	25	<b>[71]</b>	
White-collar worker.....	18		
Blue-collar worker.....	16		
<b>Not Currently Employed</b>			
Student.....	4		
Homemaker.....	6		
Retired.....	19		
Unemployed, looking for work.....	6		
Other.....	5		
Not sure.....	1		

F3. Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) For whom did you vote--George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

<b>Yes, Voted</b>		<b>[72]</b>
Voted for George W. Bush.....	43	
Voted for Al Gore.....	32	
Voted for Ralph Nader.....	2	
Voted for Pat Buchanan.....	1	
Voted for other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Not sure who voted for (VOL).....	1	
<b>No, Did Not Vote</b> .....	16	
No, was too young to vote (VOL).....	1	
<b>Not Sure/Refused</b> .....	4	

F4. How old are you? (**IF "REFUSED," ASK:**) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	6	50-54.....	10	<b>[73]</b>
25-29.....	8	55-59.....	9	
30-34.....	11	60-64.....	7	
35-39.....	8	65-69.....	7	
40-44.....	10	70-74.....	5	
45-49.....	13	75 and over.....	6	
		Refused.....	1	

F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	<b>[74]</b>
Some high school.....	5	
High school graduate.....	26	
Some college, no degree.....	18	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	24	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree....	12	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F6. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	21	<b>[75]</b>
Moderate.....	41	
Conservative.....	35	
Not sure.....	3	

F7. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	19	<b>[76]</b>
Married.....	62	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	6	
Divorced.....	10	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F8a. Which of the following would you use to describe yourself – Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, agnostic, or none of these?

Protestant.....	36	CONTINUE	[77]
Catholic.....	22		
Jewish.....	2	Skip to Q.F8c	
Muslim.....	1		
Atheist/agnostic.....	5		
None of these.....	32	CONTINUE	
Not sure.....	-		
Refused.....	2	Skip to Q.F8c	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "PROTESTANT," "NONE OF THESE," OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.F8a.)

F8b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist or evangelical Christian.....	21	[78]	
Protestant – Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	18		
Protestant – Not sure or refused on fundamentalist or evangelical.....	4		
Catholic.....	22		
Jewish.....	2		
Muslim.....	1		
Atheist/Agnostic.....	5		
None of these.....	24		
Not sure.....	-		
Refused.....	2		

F8c. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never.....	20	[79]	
Once a year.....	6		
A few times a year.....	18		
Once a month.....	8		
About twice a month.....	7		
Once a week or more often.....	37		
Not sure.....	2		

F9. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	[80]	
Labor union household.....	6		
Non-union household.....	80		
Not sure.....	3		

F10. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?

Yes, gun in household.....	42	[81]
No, no gun in household.....	56	
Not sure.....	2	

F11a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic.....	10	[82]
No, not Hispanic.....	89	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F11b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	73	[83]
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	5	
Hispanic (VOL).....	6	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[84]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	7	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	11	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	11	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	10	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	17	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	12	
More than \$100,000.....	14	
Not sure/refused.....	13	